9.

A MODEST

APOLOGY

FOR THE

Students of Edenburgh

BURNING A

POPE

DECEMBER 25. 1680.

Humbly Reſcuing the Actors from the Imputation of Diſloyalty and Rebellion, with which they were charged in a LETTER, &c.

——Manet altâ mente repoſtum
Convitium Papæ, ſpretiq; injuria.——

LONDON:

Printed for *Richard Janeway*, in *Queens-Head Alley* in *Pater-Noſter-Row*: 1681.

Mr. ——

I Was not a little amazed when I received Intelligence by your laſt, of that ſudden removal, not to call it Baniſhment, of you with other Students from *Edenburgh*; and the rather, becauſe I underſtand from other hands, that what you repreſented to me to be only the innocent divertiſement of burning a Pope, is interpreted by the Government to be no leſs than ſome formed Combination, or Plot, that may tend in its conſequences to the diſſetlement thereof.

You may remember, that before you went, I gave you a hint of the *Bigottry* of the *Scotch Presbyterians*, and of the high reſentments they uſually have of the leaſt intrenchment on what they call their *Religion*, and of the ungovernableneſs of their Principles, by which they think themſelves obliged to promote it, and oppoſe what ever may be contrary to it, tho' by never ſo Tumultuous and Rebellious Methods. And that I gave you a friendly caution, not to concern your ſelf in any of thoſe kind of *Freaks*, and I hope that *Item* might have prevailed ſo far, as to have prevented your being engaged, at leaſt ſo deeply as others, in this ſo ill-reſented enterprize, eſpecially at ſuch a time when all occaſions are ſought for, all artifices are uſed (by thoſe whoſe intereſt it is) to precepitate thoſe who call themſelves Proteſtants, into diſloyal and mutinous Practiſes; and I would the rather ſuppoſe you have declined to intermeddle at this time, ſince what always was the true Proteſtant principle, is now ſo become their intereſt, that no provocation ſhould tempt them, no ſpecious pretext allure them to give their Adverſaries ſo very great, as well as often ſought-for advantage againſt them.

I doubt not but you are ſenſible how much the murthering the late *Archbiſhop* hath been improved to the diſgrace of the *Presbyterians*; a fact ſo contrary to Pollicy, as well as Chriſtianity, that if evident proof had not laid it upon men who went under that Character, the Argument, *cui bono*,

bono, would have unavoidably laid it at the Papiſts door.

The *Hamiltonian* and *Cameronian* inſurrections are freſh in memory; and how the Popiſh party have improved them to their advantage, cannot be forgot; ſo that why you ſhould enter into *Bonds* and *Covenants*, and ſo give jealouſies to the Government at ſuch a time as this, I cannot imagine; for believe me, it is laid to your charge, that you not only covenanted amongſt your ſelves, but alſo *combined with the Apprentices*, raiſed Tumults, yea, continued them, and that by a violent oppoſition, after you were formally diſcharged by the Magiſtrates. For, I pray you, how durſt you venture upon what you did in oppoſition to the Magiſtrates, unleſs you had the underhand aſſurance of ſome *potent Aſſiſtance?* Nay further, as if all this had been a ſmall matter, as a note of diſtinction you put *Blew Ribbons in your Hats*, making that the Trumpet, as well as Colour of your Rebellion, and affronting the Nobility and Magiſtrates in the open Streets; yea, and as a piece of revenge, threatned to burn the Provoſts Houſe, which not long after was unfortunately done: So that ſome are apt to think there muſt be *other deſigns* put into your Heads than meerly burning a Pope in *Effigy*; for if that were all (though even that had been unſeaſonable enough) why did you *herd* together in Companies, and not rather, being ſatisfied with what was already done, apply your ſelves to your Studies? Pray let me underſtand from you how things are in relation to this affair: For my part, I ſee no ſuch proportion betwixt the fault and the penalty, betwixt burning a Pope, *and ſhutting up the Colledge*, if there were no more underhand deſign in your enterpriſe than was at firſt pretended to

Your Loving Friend

A. B.

SIR,

YOurs I received and read: I wonder not to find you take ſo much notice of a thing ſo *Childiſh and Trivial*, as was our late *Pageantry* in burning the *Pope*, *&c.* The mighty oppoſition it had the fortune to meet withal, is enough to make it conſiderable: But 'twas no ſmall ſurpriſe to me to hear a perſon ſo diſcerning as your ſelf, capable of being abuſed by ſuch *ſorry Artifices*, as our Adverſaries have made uſe of to make us appear *Guilty*. Were it not that I aſſure my ſelf, that your blaming us at ſo great a rate, proceeded from the want of a right Information of what we have done, and what has been done againſt us, it might go far to leſſen that high deference and value I have always had of your Judgment. I ſhall endeavour to diſabuſe you; The Interruption of my publick Studies afford me ſufficient leiſure: only let me premiſe, that I do not promiſe all that might be ſaid in our excuſe, nor, it may be, all that my ſelf could ſay were it convenient: The thing it ſelf ſpeaks, where I am ſilent; and I know that to labour it, were to imply that 'tis not ſo eaſie to Apologize.

I doubt not, but that 'tis the Proteſtants *Intereſt* as well as *Principle*, to keep themſelves within the bounds of *Allegiance*, and to be careful to do nothing which may render them ſuſpected to the Government. And I no leſs believe, that no true Proteſtants have any other Plot in the world, but to keep in their ſtations, and firmly unite together, and ſuffer the Papiſts, when ever they ſhall be minded to make an attempt, to *ſplit upon the Rock*. 'Tis true, the Principles of the Proteſtants are too full of honeſt ſimplicity, to engage them in any endeavour, to work the Papiſts, or any of them, to ſuch a ferment as might precipitate them to any raſh enterprize, tho' they might foreſee never ſo much advantage thereby to themſelves, or the Proteſtant Cauſe.

The Papiſts on the other hand, tho' they have no *Principles* that will oblige them thereunto, yet ſeem to apprehend it as their Intereſt, to forbear to be the firſt *Diſturbers of the publick Peace*, if they can by any *Artifice* allure the Proteſtants to begin: And therefore they owning no ſuch ſtrait-laced Principles, no ſuch narrow, confin'd Chriſtianiy as that of the Proteſtants, are not afraid to make uſe of all the *Privy Frauds* imaginable, which may conduce to exaſperate them to any unwarrantable undertaking.

All this, *Sir*, I readily grant you. And what advantage they have made this way, themſelves who are beſt acquainted with their ſucceſs, as well as conduct of their own Infernal intrigues, are moſt able to determine.

But this we are ſure of, that the ſucceſs has not been ſo monſtrous great, as to render all other courſes unneceſſary. The *Real Plots* that they have cunningly made men, whoſe well meaning (if any

they could have) hath out-run their Prudence and Duty, to engage in, have not ſo much contributed to the *Grand Deſign*, but that there is ſtill ſomething left to be accompliſhed by *Fictitious ones*. We all know how induſtriouſly they indeavoured to affix a *Sham-Plot* upon the *Presbyterians in England*, and how little they wanted of laying the Top-ſtone of that contrivance: But having failed there, they, like men whom difficulties and diſappointments do but animate, reſolve to practiſe upon *Scotland*. And purſuant to this Reſolution, they have there lain in wait, ready to improve *every occaſion* that might preſent it ſelf, where they might have the leaſt *Umbrage* to affix an imputation of Sedition and Rebellion.

Sir, you only take notice in your Letter of the *real Plots* that Proteſtants, or ſuch as pretend to be ſo, have been wheadled into by the Papiſts, and are pleaſed to reckon us amongſt *thoſe Gulls*; but you ſeem quite to forget the *forged Plots* that they would throw upon Proteſtants that are altogether innocent, eſpecially where they think they have got a *plauſible pretext* for ſuch an Imputation. Give me leave therefore to put you in mind of that part of their Diabolical deſign; and to aſſure you that the *Colledg of Edenburgh* is now one inſtance of it, amongſt others in the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

But before I proceed further, it will be convenient, for the prevention of being miſunderſtood, to tell you, That I would not in the leaſt inſinuate, that the *Magiſtracy* there doth concern it ſelf to ſubſerve ſo villanous an Intrigue, as that whereof I accuſe the Papiſts. No, God forbid I ſhould: They are perſons that have given ſuch ample, and ſo often repeated Teſtimonies of their zeal to the Proteſtant Religion, and of their great care for the preſervation of it, that there is not the leaſt ground for the moſt malicious and moſt diſaffected perſon to the Government, once to ſuſpect ſuch a thing of them. What I ſay is this, That ſome perſons there are, who beyond all peradventure, in ſubſerviency to the forementioned devilliſh Reſolution of the Papiſts, have ſo *miſrepreſented* this innocent deſign of ours to the Magiſtracy, and ſo fly-blown it to them, as to make it appear quite another thing than what we intended it: And then I muſt needs ſay, the Magiſtrates could act no otherwiſe than according to the Information they received. Take this *Item* along with you, that I am not vindicating Diſloyalty and Rebellion, but modeſtly excuſing perſons not yet convicted, from thoſe horrid Imputations. And I do not ſee, that though the Magiſtrates have appeared againſt perſons, whom I endeavour to prove are innocent as to any diſloyal Deſign, and who, I ſay, were aſperſed as ſuch by *the curſed malice* of others, that I muſt needs be thought therefore to *reflect* upon the Magiſtrates *ſincerity*.

And as I would not have you think, *Sir*, I deſign to reflect on the Magiſtracy; ſo I would not have you believe I intend to *Juſtify* our ſelves, that we went on with our divertiſement after the Magiſtracy *diſcharged* us; much leſs that I concern my ſelf to defend every particular unpremeditated *extravagance*, which the violence of an *unexpected oppoſition* might draw on. Let them who are better able than I, de-

I, determine whether in the former we did well or ill; and for the latter, let it ſuffice, that I aſſure you, I verily believe, if we had met with no oppoſition, the whole buſineſs had been as unexceptionably managed, as 'twas innocently contrived: However, even as 'twas, I doubt not but to make it appear that 'tis great injuſtice to blame us, as if we did *ſeditiouſly combine together with a deſign to give an avowed affront to Authority, and therein lay the ground-work of a more wretched Rebellion.* When I ſhall come to tell you the great tenderneſs we uſed, as little as might be to intrench upon *Authority*, tho' we went on with our deſign; and the ſubtil artifices on the other hand that were uſed to inflame us, you will eaſily perceive there was not *very much* in the whole management, but what might eaſily have been excuſed and *paſſed by*, had it not been *repreſented* through ſuch magnifying Glaſſes, as 'tis more than evident it was.

Having ſaid thus much, to prevent the wiredrawing of any thing I ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſay, 'tis time I ſhould go on & give you the Reaſons that firſt prompted us to undertake what we did; and as the thing was really firſt motioned by ſome of our own number without any *forrain inſtigation*, ſo were the reaſons, in a manner, *peculiar* to our own Circumſtances. We conſidered the great Progreſs our Popiſh Adverſaries made in their Conſpiracies, and that their deſigns were by this time ſo far advanced, that there wanted but a little more to put a Period to our preſent Government as well as Religion: For let none imagine that the PLOT is altogether diſbelieved in *Scotland*. We conſidered, that we who look upon our ſelves as a *Seminary of Proteſtants* for the ſervice of Church and State, as Providence ſhall diſpoſe of us, had not hitherto given any *Publick Teſtimony* of our Abhorrence of the *Romiſh* ſuperſtition. We conſidered what diſadvantageous Repreſentations might poſſibly have been made in foreign parts, of the byaſs of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and we further conſidered what falſe meaſures may have been taken of us accordingly both at home and abroad, and how much the wicked Conſpirators might be *encouraged* thereby to a vigorous proſecution of their Helliſh deſigns. When we conſidered all theſe things, we thought fit at once to give an innocent proof of our own ſetled *averſion* to Popery, and alſo (as much as in us lay) to give the Lye to thoſe miſrepreſentations and falſe meaſures that have been made and taken of that Kingdom. And poſſibly we might do our Adverſaries therein a kindneſs too, by undeceiving them, and letting them ſee, that when they reckoned we were all of us ſuch blocks as were fit to take any ſhape they ſhould be pleaſed to give us, they reckoned without their Hoſt.

We reſolved therefore to burn the Pope; and we could not imagine that our enterprize ſhould be looked on as Seditious, much leſs Rebellious, becauſe it was carried on by perſons of various Intereſts and Inclinations, moſt of whoſe Parents are not in the leaſt *ſuſpected* to carry on any *deſign contrary to the Publick Eſtabliſhment* either in Church or State. Had it been only managed by ſuch, whoſe own, or whoſe Parents diſſatisfactions with the Government, whether Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, might be preſumed to diſpoſe them to encreaſe Jealouſies,

louſies, and foiſter Tumults and Sedition to undermine, at any rate, what they diſliked, we might have ſuſpected poſſibly to ſee it branded with the odious imputations you ſeem to caſt upon it. We might then have thought that the diſadvantageous circumſtances of the undertakers would, with ſome ſhallow-headed people, have derived a Taint upon their innocent Deſign: But when we know that *moſt of* the who were concerned in it were *fully ſatisfied* with the eſtabliſhment by Law in our reſpective Kingdom; and when we knew alſo, that ſome of the undertakers had ſuch education in the *Families* of ſome, whoſe imployment in the *affairs of State* were ſufficient to free them of the leaſt ſuſpition of any deſign againſt the Peace of it; when we knew all this, we could not once imagine that our enterprize ſhould be looked upon, and proſecuted as a Crime of ſo horrid a Nature.

We were the rather confirmed in this belief, when we reflected upon the nature of the thing it ſelf; for ſo purblind were we, that we could not foreſee which way the Publick Peace ſhould come to be concerned in it: We were ſatisfied that there was no ſuch dependance between either the Civil or Eccleſiaſtical Government of *Scotland*, and the Church or State of *Rome*, as that an affront to the latter muſt needs redound upon the former. Some of us indeed could not but call to mind, that we have heard that our now Principal, once taking the liberty in the Pulpit to mention the vulgar ſuſpicion of the *French*-Kings illegitimacy, either had, or was in hazard of a ſevere reproof from the Magiſtracy for his *unſeaſonable* boldneſs; becauſe then there was a *ſtrict Alliance* between *Great Britain and France*. But we knew of no *ſuch Alliance* between the Three Kingdoms and the Triple Crown, and therefore did not fear, that a grating upon the latter, ſhould have affected the former by conſent: we thought there was not ſuch *concord* between them, that the *beating upon the one ſtring* ſhould cauſe the other to ſound by *ſymphony*. And further, if the Pope might be declared againſt in the Pulpits, and his Uſurpation abominated there without the Imputation of *an affront to any of the Nobility*, (and we have not heard that this hath, nor ſuſpect it ever will while his Majeſty lives, be proclamed Rebellious and Seditious) we imagined that in a way ſuitable to our years and circumſtances, we might venture a fling at him too, and——Burn him.

And we had this further incouragement to believe our ſelves upon ſecure ground, That the very ſame manner of expreſſing a deteſtation of Popery, by Burning the Pope, has been practiſed in *London*, and in other places of *England*, without any *Imputation* of *Diſloyalty* or *Sedition* that ever we heard of: And we were ſo fooliſh as to think, that what was permitted in a Kingdom (I may be permitted to ſay it) as well Governed as that of *Scotland* (ſaving that 'tis not in ſo Military a manner, *&c.*) might alſo have been allowed here.

Theſe, *Sir*, were the Reaſons that we had to undertake a deſign of this nature; theſe were the Inducements that led us, or miſlead us into a belief, that we ſhould meet with no oppoſition in the proſecution of it, but from *thoſe of the Popiſh Intereſt:* And we thought that if ſuch ſhould ſmell it before-hand, they would endeavour by all the *Addreſs*

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and Cunning imaginable, ſo to order matters, as to lay an obſtruction in our way; and therefore we thought fit to oblige thoſe whom we acquainted with the contrivance, to ſecrecy. How well grounded that fear was, the ſequel has inſtructed us.

We feared likewiſe, that if the Papiſts ſhould come to diſcover it, and could not otherwiſe hinder us, they might attempt to do it by *violence*; this ſuſpition was increaſed in us by obſerving the Marqueſs of *Huntly* was in Town, and that unwonted nombers of Papiſts, *Scots* and *French* eſpecially, dayly reſorted thither; and we knew full well that ſome Students, who would readily *promiſe* their concurrence upon the forementioned inducements, might as eaſily be prevailed with afterwards upon the proſpect of any difficulties to *deſert us*. For this alone Reaſon we propoſed a Paper to be ſubſcribed, wherein we promiſed our *aſſiſtance* one to another; for as on the one hand we were ambitious (if no interruption at all ſhould be given us) to engage as many Students as was poſſible, that the Ceremony might appear rather the *unanimous* acting of our whole Society, than that of ſome *particular* Students only; ſo on the other hand, we were reſolved, if the Papiſts ſhould have attempted us, to *defend our ſelves*.

This, *Sir*, is that *Bond* and *Covenant* which your Letter mentions: And (to deal ingenuouſly with you) whether our ignorance of the nicety of the Laws of *Scotland* in this particular may have ran us into an error or no, I am not able to determine. I know that Kingdom has been ſo often burnt in the hand with *Solemn Leagues and Covenants*, and with *Bands of Aſſociation* and *Mutual Defence* upon all occaſions, that the Laws may poſſibly have arrived to ſuch a tenderneſs in that point, as to make it Capital for any number of perſons to ſubſcribe a Paper, tho' it contain no more than a mutual promiſe to meet on ſuch a day, at ſuch a place, to play a *Game at Foot-ball*. If the Laws be ſo, I acknowledg our Ignorance ought to be no excuſe. This I muſt needs ſay, if we were miſtaken, the *Practice* of ſome of our *Predeceſſours* here, and of the Students of *Glaſco*, and (I believe) that alſo of the other *Colledges* in *Scotland*, led us into the miſtake; for we have heard, that upon ſuch occaſions which the Students take to be of a general concern to them, it has been uſual for them to ſubſcribe a Paper of *mutual Aſſiſtance*; and the outrages which have been ſometimes committed in *purſuance thereof*, have never been ſo aggravated (that we know of) by the *ſubſcription*, as to cauſe them to be looked on as other than a *Boyiſh Combination*. As to what concerns the preſent Subſcription, I do confidently aſſure you, *Sir*, that my ſelf, and all others, ſo far as I ever could apprehend, who ſubſcribed, took our ſelves to be obliged thereby to no more than to a *mutual concurrence to the Burning of the Pope*, and *to a joynt defence of our ſelves againſt the injurious diſturbance of the Papiſts*, if they ſhould have offered any: And you will the eaſilier believe that that muſt have been the ſenſe of that obligation, becauſe at that time we could not foreſee that any of us ſhould be *called in queſtion for it by lawful Authority*. Beſides, let any conſiderate man think whether the ſorry forfeiture of *Half a Crown* (the only penalty of that obligation) were

ſo great a matter as to engage any in a *Rebellion*: Can any man ſuppoſe that if we had deſigned any ſuch matter, we would not have condeſcended upon a rounder ſum? Add to all this our *peaceable demeanour*, before, in, and after the *Action*, and what greater evidence can there be of the meaning that we took our ſelves to be obliged in? So that tho' I do believe in my Conſcience there was no one who could take it in a bad ſenſe; yet let's ſuppoſe that ſome ſuch there were, who being more Eagle eyed than the reſt, did foreſee that ſome were like to be called in *Queſtion*, and had a mind to lay the foundations of their ſecurity, by obliging all to a *mutual adherence* to one another *againſt Authority*, if ſuch a thing ſhould happen; yet I am ſure they were *diſappointed* of their end, if ſuch they had; for to my knowledg there was none of them that ever attempted any thing agreable hereunto, either by force to *prevent* the *apprehenſion* of their Companions, (tho' there were none of us who did not privately reſent the ruſhing in of Soldiers into the Colledge, and the breaking open our Chambers at midnight) or to *Reſcue* them after they were apprehended, or to *defend the Statue* till it ſhould be conſumed, or any other thing which might *look like* a forcible oppoſing Authority, otherwiſe than as I ſhall impartially tell you in the progreſs of my Story; and how far that was ſuch a *violent oppoſition to Authority*, as you are pleaſed to accuſe us of, leave you to determine.

In the ſame Paper, to prevent all miſconſtruction, we took care expreſly to declare that the *reaſons* of our Undertaking was *not to put an affront upon any perſon whatſoever* other then the *Pope*, and that that was the only end of it. For 'twas here only that we could poſſibly imagine the Shoo would pinch, and therefore took what care we could to inlarge it in the Inſtep. And this is that I preſume which you intend by the *unſeaſonableneſs* you charge us with.

However, our buſineſs was not ſo cloſely carried but that it got wind, and coming to the Lord *Provoſts* ear, was quickly carried to the D. and L. *Chancellor*. Both of them are greatly enraged thereat, and theatning to *cut down the Attempters*, &c. they reſolve by all means to prevent it; and in order hereunto the *Town-Mayor* is ſent to the Principal of the Colledg on *Thurſday* at Midnight to cauſe him to interpoſe: the Principal accordingly, the next day came into the Schools, and offered a *contrary Bond* to be Subſcribed by the Students, which was generally refuſed by all, unleſs ſome of the firſt year.

The next night the *Town-Mayor* being ſent again, apprehended two *Engliſh* Gentlemen, and ſome others who were ſuppoſed to be the *principal* Actors. Theſe they carry to the Town-Guards, where they were examined by the Town-Council there met on purpoſe, and then delivered to the *Gray-Coats*, and by them under pretence of ſpeaking with the General, conveyed with Matches burning, &c. to the *Canon-gate Toll-booth*, and there received and Impriſoned by a Company of *Red-Coats*. And hereby being put out of the *Juriſdiction* of the Provoſt, there was no redreſs to be expected but from the *Privy-Council*.

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The next thing to prevent the design, was a Proclamation prohibiting all Merchants and Tradesmen to suffer their Apprentices or Servants to go abroad on *Christmas day*.

And lastly, for the grand reserve, when the day came, the Provost contrary to the Priviledges of the City, suffered all the Forces that were in the Suburbs or parts adjacent, to March in, and Post themselves in the most convenient places for preventing our design. Gen. *Daliel*, with the Livetenant and a Squadron of his Majesties Horse-Guard, and other Companies on Foot, goes to secure the Grass-Market, as being the place of ordinary Execution. *E* of *Marr* with Two Companies Marches towards the *Parliament-Close* to guard the Cross. And there indeed, as being the Gentile place of Execution, we designed to effectuate our purpose. The Kings Life-Guards seeing no appearance of ought in the *Grass-Market*, March up the *Castle-hill*, fearing ('tis like) we would chuse the propereſt place, and burn the grand Saucerer where the little inferior ones usually were. The City-Militia are ranked in the middle of the *High-Street* to defend it. Another Company of Foot sent to double the ordinary Guards at the *Holyrude-house* for the security of the Duke's Person.

By all this Martial preparation against us, all this noise of Drums, Kettle-Drums and Trumpets, all this appearance of Colours flying, drawn Swords, Matches burning, &c. wherewith at this time the whole City was full, you will think, Sir, you had reason to charge us as you did with a *formed Combination against the Government*. Sure you cannot now imagine but that we were ingaged in a Rebellion no less formidable than that of *Ireland*. All this dust could not be raised for nothing: It may be so. But you question me, *How durst we venture our selves against such Puissance, unless we relyed upon some potent assistance?* Believe me, Sir, we intended sport, and not to fight; and therefore had the courage to begin our March, not only without knowing of any *Auxiliaries*, but also without being provided of any *Arms* our selves. 'Tis true, our numbers increased by an unsought-for *Accession* of a great many Tradesmen and Apprentices still as we marched along, who it seems were as eager for the pastime, and as ready to expose Popery as our selves: Yet I protest to you, that we thought our selves enow to *rout* all the Forces we came to fight, and to storm all the Castles we came to *besiege*, without the assistance of any; and therefore we never had any former correspondence, much less *combination* with these Volunteers. No, we never in the least acquainted nor desired the concurrence of *any* but those of our own Society.

We thus attended the Statue in its *Pontificalibus* down the *High-School Wind*, and up *Black-Fryers Wind* to the *High-Street*. You will admire how we got any place free almost to perform the execution in: yet we did; but seeing the armed opposition that was drawing on all sides, and being *careful* of keeping the peace, without further Ceremony, than the reading of a short Accusation, we set it on fire with a couple of Flambeaus: at the sight whereof *Pereat Papa*, being loudly resounded, made it seems a terrible reverberation in some ears. *L. L.* being neareſt, was sooneſt alarmed, and having been many years in the

King-

Kings ſervice, and (as they ſay) never drawn his Sword in anger before, now draws it in defence of the Pope; ſome who were nearest, rudely demanded *Hanſel*, &c. But this was not all, for making a furious paſs at one of the *unarmed* Actors, he loſt his footing, and unluckily fell proſtrate before the Statue. Some informed his Lordſhip that it was a miſtaken Devotion, for the *Timber-Popes had no Toes*. So that ariſing, he commanded his Souldiers, who were but juſt now come up, not being able altogether to keep pace with his Lordſhips *Zeal*, to extinguiſh the Flames. And we who reſolved to make no other oppoſition than by *thronging* together to hinder any acceſs to the Statue till it were thorowly kindled; after we had *crouded a little while*, departed, and left it to the diſcretion of its defenders. By this time it was all on flames, for we ſtuffed it well within with Roſin, Pitch, Gunpowder, and ſuch like combuſtible ſtuff, *deſignedly*, that our ſtay about it, after 'twas on fire might be the leſs. So that you cannot but obſerve Sir, that however blameable we might be in burning it after the Publick Authority had appeared againſt us, yet we uſed all imaginable care that it ſhould be done in a manner as *little offenſive* as might be. After our departure the Souldiers did what they could to put an end to the burning. I doubt not but you would have ſmiled to have ſeen what *cruel Drubs* the merciful Souldiers gave his Holineſs with the Buts of their Muſquets; though the choice were hard, yet it was their kindneſs, rather to knock him o'th head, than ſee him die before their eyes, the unhallowed *death of a Heretick*. Yet could not all their care reſcue him from the deplorable Fate; for being informed of the Gunpowder, they thought it their wiſdom to retire, leſt by being too *nearly* concerned for the Popes ſafety, they might hazard their own. And 'twas well they did ſo in ſo ſeaſonable a time; for immediately the flames reached the Powder; and the Pope expired in a——— Stink.

But we have not done with him: A more *Canonical Adventure* yet remains: The little boyes of the Town, ſuch as you would have ſuſpected by their *magnitude* were ſcarce yet ſo well lettered as to ſpell *Perery*, they take courage and reſolve to do ſomething: and finding the Reliques of the ſhattered head which the violence of the Powder had ſevered from the body, tye a ſtring to it, and drag it up the Street to the *Caſtle-hill*. The Kings Forces too miſſing ſo principal a part, and ſcorning to quit a prize ſo conſiderable to ſuch *Diminutive enemies*, like men of *courage* who ſcorn to be eaſily baffled, Troop about, and put on *brave reſolutions*, rather to dye like men upon the place, than not recover what they had loſt. Believe me, there was *no great* need of ſuch ſuperlative Valour, for the little *Mirmidons* had no ſtomach (I aſſure you) to fight ſo redoubted an enemy, if they could avoid it, and therefore retreat as orderly as they came: but their ſtratagem proved unſucceſsful, for can we doubt but they had one? They had to do with *old Souldiers* who underſtood Martial Diſcipline too well to *entwiſt* while their enemies were in a capacity of rallying, and who therefore make an eager purſuit in *Battalia*; and falling in upon a ſmall party that was to juſtifie the Retreat, they diſcomfit them,

and

and preſſing hard upon the main body of the *Mirmidons*; you may think for a while there was a ſharp rancounter! The *Mirmidons*, I aſſure you, ſhewed as much manhood as their enemies; but alas! being inferior, tho' only in point of diſcipline, after a tough reſiſtance they were forced to flye; but the rout was not ſo total, but that a party of them came off intire with *half* of the booty, which they ſecured in a Well, and after when the field was clear, took up and delivered to the publick Executioner *to do his office upon.* The other half of the Booty fell into the enemies hands. I think after ſome ſtrugling to whom it ſhould belong, one of the *Trumpeters* got it——!

But enough of this. Sir, I am afraid you will ſcarce believe but that in telling ſo *ridiculous a buſineſs*, I impoſe upon you. I muſt confeſs I ſhould not have had the faith to have believed it my ſelf, unleſs I had ſuch grounds for it as I think could not eaſily prove falſe. But 'tis time to return.

All this while thoſe Students who were apprehended on *Friday* night or *Saturday* morning, continued in priſon. On *Sunday* night the Kings Advocate, Sir *George Makenzy*, ordered thereunto by the Council, examines the two *Engliſh* Gentlemen, Whether they were not *inſtigated* by Letter from the Lord *Grey?* They denied it. Then he asked, Whether they had any Letter of inſtigation from any body elſe? They anſwered, None. He proceeds, and, if they will not confeſs, threatens them with the Boot; an *Engine* which I who have been born in a Freer Air, may have leave without reflection to call *ſtaviſhly barbarous.* But at length finding them reſolved to adhere to their anſwers, and that he could not by any means extort any thing from them which could be ſo much as a *probable ground* of pinning the Contrivance upon the Lord *Grey*, &c. he was content to take bond of 1100. Marks a-piece for further appearance at the Councils pleaſure, and to diſmiſs them.

On *Monday* at night the Kings Advocate examined the reſt of the Priſoners, and threatned them with the Boot if they would not confeſs *who writ the bond.* One of them confeſſed *he writ a paper which the reſt ſubſcribed, but denied it to be a bond.* Then they were interrogated, *Whether they deſigned an affront upon any of the Nobility?* They anſwered, *That to prevent that very miſconſtruction, they had declared the contrary in that paper.* Then the Advocate deſired him who had owned the Writing, to ſwear *as to that clauſe of it* wherein they proteſt *againſt any intention to affront*, &c. whether any inſtigated him to put *it* in or no? He being conſcious to himſelf, that no body had inſtigated him to any part thereof, and not being *aware* of the *ſnare*, took the Oath as the Advocate had tendred it. Then they were examined, *Whether there had been any of the Whig-Miniſters or Citizens at any of their Conſultations?* And the Advocate finding by the reſoluteneſs of their *denial*, there had been none, was content to diſcharge them upon bond for further appearance, as before.

Now might we have *applied our ſelves to our ſtudies*, and all things been quieted, had not ſome of the Soldiers (to what ends, themſelves beſt know) given us an *occaſion* (I do not ſay a reaſon) to *herd together again*, by aſſaulting and cutting one of the Students quite through the skull, before the very gate of the *Colledg*, and that without the leaſt provocation; and not only ſo, but by great indignities offered to others of us in other places of the Town. It ſeems it was a pity that things ſhould be ſo ſoon compoſed. Something further was yet to be done, to drive us on to a greater extremity! They that knew the humour of young Students, how unwilling they are to put up affronts either from Townſmen or Soldiers, and how apt they are *to herd together* in ſuch caſes, and joyn in their mutual defence, could not be far to ſeek for a way to puſh them forward to things not otherwiſe excuſable than by the *heat of yonng blood*, and the *inexcuſableneſs* of the provocations.

For my own part, when I conſider how frequent it has been for the Students in *Edenburgh*, and in other places of *Scotland*, upon leſs provocations to commit far *greater* outrages, I cannot but think that our *Extravagancies* at this time (tho' I am far from vindicating them) were extraordinary moderate. The truth is, we ſo far conſidered how much we were concerned at ſuch a time as this to avoid any thing that might have a *mutinous aſpect*, that I am confident we would have put up all thoſe indignities that were offer'd us, had not another thing which intervened, given us a much more *ſenſible touch*. 'Twas this:

A little after the firſt diſorders were over, the Principal and Regents go to the Palace with a deſign to have made an apology to his R. Highneſs; but being denied admittance (for the paroxiſm of indignation was not yet over) they return. But they go again, and are admitted. We were apprehenſive that they had in our names, without acquainting us, *made a ſubmiſſion, and begged pardon for burning the Pope*. Theſe thoughts, I confeſs, galled us; and therefore to ſhew how much we continued in the ſame mind, we unanimouſly got *blew Ribbons* in our hats with this Motto, *NO POPE*; and went in a body (or *herd* if you will) by the Provoſt's houſe (which 'tis like was taken for an affront to him): When we were come into the *High Street*, we cryed, *No Pope, No Pope*. What perſons they were who might take themſelves further to be affronted by this, I do not know; or if any met with any real affronts, they may partly thank themſelves. Sir, Lads are Lads, and will act as ſuch; and though we nor can nor will upon a deliberate reflection on all that paſſed, juſtifie our ſelves in thoſe particulars wherein through the heat of a *youthful frolic*, we exceeded the juſt bounds of moderation; yet this we muſt have leave to ſay, for we cannot but think it, That thoſe perſons who pretend to exceed us as much in diſcretion and prudence, as they do in years, and yet could not forbear as *unjuſtifiable* provocations and returns on the other hand, have either forfeited that advantage of diſcretion they pretended to above us, or given us too great cauſe to ſuſpect they had a *malicious deſign* of increaſing the Mutiny. I could give you inſtances even in this kind. We know

know who they were that threatned *to tread under his feet those who durst wear a blew Ribbon before him.* And who they were that cuffed and beat one of us (by what authority himself knows) for indiscreetly saying, *That all this stir was for burning the Pope.* Persons from whom (of all others) such words and such actions were little expected. I could tell you more. But my business is not to particularize other mens *Extravagancies*, but, so far as 'twill bear, modestly to apologize for our own.

Sir, I do assure you this assuming to our selves Ribbons, is a thing that is done amongst us every year, as a badg whereby we may be distinguished from others, and known to our selves: for you must know, we wear not Gowns and Caps as they do in the *English* Universities. 'Tis true, we never wore such distinguishing Ribbons at this time of the year; nor ever Ribbons with Motto's before. But what of all that? 'Tis no consequence that we must needs therefore be said to combine together (as ou are pleased to suppose) to the dissettlement of the Government; or that we design'd to make a party, and invite others thereunto to raise and carry on a Rebellion; And *that this should be the Trumpet as well as Colour of it.* No; had this been our design, What should have induced us expressly to refuse to permit the Apprentices to wear the same kind of Ribbon, when they applied themselves to us to that end? Or if other Gentlemen besides our selves (or the Apprentices afterwards) did think fit to wear Ribbons of that colour, what was that to us, who could not hinder them? When you may see by this instance of the Apprentices, that we were so far from desiring any to wear the Ribbon but our selves, that we did what we could to hinder others?

However, when we saw by the imprisonment of the Printer who had done no more than barely printed *No Pope* upon our Ribbons, and by other assurances, how disgustful this was like to prove to the Magistrates, we all pulled them from our hats. And if some one or two imprudent Students did afterwards resume them, I may, Sir, expect it from your justice, that you will not blame the whole Society upon that account.

And I hope to find the same Justice when I tell you, That some rash inconsiderate Lad might perhaps in passion say, that *the Provost deserv'd to have his house burnt.* Tho' such words were not only without the knowledg and approbation of the rest, but even condemned by the speaker upon a sober reflection; who I am perswaded might say them without any premeditated design. You know 'tis usual for one man in anger to tell another, *He deserves to be hanged*, or *he will be hanged*, without ever intending to prove the Executioner. 'Tis true, if the party should be afterwards found hanged in good earnest, and no account given how it happened, there might be some reason to suspect the Threatner.

Sir,

Sir, the Houſe was burnt, and burnt deſignedly, there is no queſtion: but how, or by whom, I am not able poſitively to inform you. I am ſure when I heard it, I was in a ſtrange ſurpriſe, knowing that it would not be eaſie for us to decline the odium; and therefore tho' I was conſcious of my own innocency in particular, and believed as much of all the reſt; yet for my farther ſatisfaction I was curious to go immediately to the *moſt daring and undertaking* among us, and ſuch whom I aſſured my ſelf muſt have been concerned, if any were. But I pumped in vain; for I found them all in a ſurpriſe equal to my own, and as much deteſting ſuch a Villany. And I have reaſon to believe, that had they known any ſuch thing, they durſt have confided in my ſecreſie, tho' poſſibly had it been ſo, their confidence would have proved falſe bottom'd. And I am the rather inclined to pronounce them innocent, becauſe I found them all able, by a ſucceſſion of witneſſes, as it happened, to prove where they had been all that time. And tho' diligent inquiry has been made at *Dyddiſton*, *Libberton*, and other places adjoining to *Prieſt-field*; yet I hear not of any one of our number that was ſeen any time that day or night thereabouts.

And I could further confirm our innocency by the late report we heard, that one of theſe poor Boys hath been ſince booted: And tho' it might have been expected that the extremity of that horrible Torture might have made him accuſe himſelf or others of things that never entred into his or their thoughts; yet 'tis ſaid he aſſerted their innocency with admirable courage; and being taken out, bid the ſtanders-by conſider how great that innocency muſt needs be, when it had enabled him to undergo thoſe torments which he doubted not would have forced confeſſions of the greateſt of Villanies from the ſtouteſt of themſelves! But I ſhall rather ſuperſede this Argument, than once believe men could have acted ſo great cruelty upon children.

Sir, that I may be plain with you, there wants not ground to believe, That ſome perſons might think if they could cunningly and ſecretly fire the houſe of *Prieſt-field*, it would be an eaſie matter to raiſe a belief that it was done by us. They knew that the circumſtances of the foregoing diſorders, eſpecially the words which they knew they could prove ſome of us in paſſion had ſpoken, would be evidence ſufficient to ſuſpect, if not convict us of the fact, unleſs we could with equal probability lay it ſome where elſe; and that they hoped might be prevented by a ſecret management on their ſide. But whether or no they have thus managed it with a cunning and ſecreſie equal to the contrivance, poſſibly we may know more hereafter. At preſent, we know thus much, that there was a Gunpowder Barrel with the Caſtle ſtamp upon't, found the next day in that part of the Park that is neareſt to *Prieſtfield*. And as I am informed, ſome asking the Governour of the Caſtle, *To whom, and when he had delivered any Barrels of Gunpowder?* received this anſwer, That *of late he had not delivered any, but one to the Halyrud-houſe, to furniſh the Gaurds withall.* But having this laſt parti-

particular only by flying report, I will not be positive in it: But be that as it will, I see not how we can once imagine how any of the Students should come by a Barrel so marked, for that such a Barrel was found is most certain: I think none will say they either stormed the Castle, or plundered the *Halyrud-house* for it. Besides, you cannot but have heard of the attempt that was made to fire a House in *Edenburgh*, 'tis like if the Incendiary had not been taken and discovered to be one of the Marquess of *Huntlies* men, we might have been charged with that too; and you have heard of the apprehensions the Citizens at present have, that that wicked design of burning their City is not yet lade aside. And the World knows that *London* was burnt——and by whom.

I will not urge your Argument of *Cui bono:* If it be of any force, let it prevail only so far, as to make you believe us innocent, till you hear we are proved guilty. And let not a perfunctory reading of the late Proclamation in *Scotland* against us, cause you to mistake it so far, as to imagine we are directly charged therein of this horrid Fact, much less already proved guilty of it; for tho' it be something perplexed, yet upon due examination you will find, that 'tis only positive, that *there is convincing proof that the House of* Priest field *was burnt down by throwing in Fireballs.*

I deny not that we were accused as guilty before the Council, and (as 'tis like) that all the probable circumstances were with the utmost industry *aggravated* in the Information, we may believe that nothing which the utmost malice of our Adversaries could suggest was omitted, because of the measures that the Council thereupon took: It was no small thing which induced them to summon before them those who had given bond for their appearance, and upon their appearance to Imprison them again, and then to shut up the Gates of the Schools of the Colledge: And in the next place, by the Proclamation, to command all and every of the Students within twenty four hours to depart Fifteen Miles at least from *Edenburgh.*

'Tis (as I am informed) our Principal offered that those who should be found guilty of these disorders, might bear the punishment themselves; and thought it hard, that all should be involved in a general ruine, before it appeared how many were guilty: And knew not whether it was regular first to punish them, and then examine whether they deserved it——And how this examination could be taken in their absence——much less, whether a submission by proxy would be admitted:——And desired his Advocates might be heard argue it, whether it were so agreeable to Law, that a Colledge established by Parliament, without Act of Parliament should be dissolved?

Sir, there is one thing more I must not forget to tell you; 'tis, that tho' the Proclamation take care, that such whose Parents or Tutors

will give caution for their good behaviour might abide behind; yet matters were so ordered, that tho' the English Gentlemen offered such caution, yet the Clerks of the Council delayed first, and at last, after they had been consulting at the *Halyrud-house*, positively refused to accept it; and so the time allowed being near an end, and they fearing to be trapanned, were in all hast necessitated to go out of *Edenburgh* on foot, and take post at the next Stage.

Thus, Sir, I have given you an impartial account of the whole procedure, so far as I am able; and tho' I do not pretend that what I have said will vindicate us in every particular; yet this I may say without any imputation of Impudence, that upon the whole matter, 'tis evident our crimes are not near so odious as you have been made to believe. I may say it, had there been no opposition, nothing, either in the contrivance or management of the whole Action, could have been justly lyable to blame. 'Tis true, we have been indiscreet, rash, have acted like our selves, in that when we heard of opposition we desisted not. I am heartily sorry we went on, when we see, that what we were a going about, *for the manner of it*, was disgusted by the Magistrates. But that we designed a Rebellion, were abetted by others thereunto, endeavoured to make a party to carry it on, to the dissetlement of the Government, or that we did so much as avow affronts to the Magistracy, is wickedly false. Even those extravagancies which we did commit, may most of them be accounted for, by the unexpectedness of the opposition we met withal, and the great provocations we thought we received from particular persons. And 'tis no mean Argument that we are not so really guilty as your Letter would make us, if it be soberly considered that such trivial, boyish freaks, were improved with such a *mighty pother* to make us appear so. Who can imagine but that there have been exceeding false Glasses used, when our *Childish divertisements* have been represented to the Magistrates as *formidable Combinations* against the State? What a Mountain hath been made of our Molehill! Thus can men make every Stake in a Hedge, when they have a mind to pull it up, a Publick Nusance! Thus can wicked men who have an itch to be combating, make Images of Straw appear real enemies! Thus can they contrive to dissolve Seminaries of Learning, when according to the old method, they are ushering in Devotion by Ignorance! Good God! what terrible *Batteries* may we not expect, when such extraordinary diligence is used already to *force earth* for *the Mounts*?

Well, God bless His Majesty say I, and let him live to disappoint the Malice and Hopes of his greatest Enemies; for we may possibly have such a Successour, who is resolved to look upon peoples *professing their detestation of Popery* to be a *Crime equal to Rebellion*: And every publick owning of the *Protestant Religion*, to be an intollerable *affront to his Person*.

Sir,

Sir, 'tis time I conclude; If I have been already too tedious, you will aſcribe it to the zeal I have at once to ſatisfie your commands, and to waſh of thoſe black and horrid imputations which your Letter involves me and others in. I ſhould be ſorry that your ſelf, or any other conſiderate perſon ſhould take *me* to be guilty of that *Bigottry* you ſpeak of, much more ſorry to ſee you continue to think me capable of thoughts of Rebellion: You know how much I have always, ſince I underſtood the difference of any thing, deteſted thoſe both Principles and Practiſes. I am intirely of your mind, that Proteſtants cannot more prejudice themſelves, and the intereſt of their Religion, then by endeavouring to promote it by undue courſes, or to defend and ſecure it by aſſociations not warranted by Law. If by all I have ſaid, I have been able to reſcue my Loyalty from that taint it may have received in your opinion, upon the account of my being in ſome meaſure concerned in what you ſo highly decry; 'twill be the greateſt ſatisfaction imaginable to

February 168½.

SIR,

The devouteſt of your Servants

N. M.

FINIS.